1: Karsten--223 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 684, 586, 762 (1928-29)

"Whatever the cause may be, if the husband convicts his wife of adultery, he mercilessly wreaks his vengeance upon her. In regard to the Jibaros we can hardly speak of 'divorce', because in a case of unfaithfulness the man seldom contents himself with simply repudiating his wife; cruel ill-treatment or death is the common punishment for such a crime. Generally the enraged husband gives vent to his anger by beating the woman or by piercing her legs, thighs, and breast with his lance or his forest knife, so that she not seldom succumbs by bleeding to death. Wives ill-treated in this way in some cases put an end of their own life by taking varvasco poison, a way in which unhappy Jibaro women sometimes commit suicide, as in other tribes of Eastern Ecuador."

4: Up de Graff--216 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 762, 278

"It is this same barbasco juice [KS: poison used for fishing] which the Jivaro women drink to commit suicide."

13: Rivet--239 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
762

For the Jívaro there is no natural death (1).

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1. Suicide is exceptional. A single traveller points out its frequence among the Aguaruna women. In two months, two committed suicide in the tribe where he was staying. Mesones Muro, op. cit., page 82.

26: Brüning--50 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 152, 762

The Indians are very sensitive with regard to both kind actions and insults. During our trip down the Marañón we found a grave, not very old, in the house of the Curaca Laichape in Huaracaiyo. When we inquired, we were told that this was the final resting place of one of the wives of the Curaca: she had hanged herself a short time ago because her drunken husband had slapped her in the face. A rubber collector told us of a similar case that had happened a few months earlier at another place.

28: Tessman--362 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 584, 762

A woman is never asked whether she wants to marry a man or not; in most instances she is much too young anyway. The future husband, who has selected her, arranges the thing with the father or the brother of the girl. This explains why women hang themselves when they are forced to live with a man who may treat them badly or for whom they do not care. If the girl's family agrees to the marriage, the son-in-law-to-be goes on a one-week hunting expedition and collects game, which he turns over to his parents-in-law. The latter prepare a great feast, and the bride is handed over. The husband has no other obligations. Older girls who are not yet married are never virgins, and virginity is not expected anyway.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578 the house, the soiled spot to be dug up and removed the next
628 day.

The initiation of a feud does not formally occur until one
682 of the parties sends the message to the other, "Let us fight
[684] with guns. . . ." Such a message is sent normally after the two parties have (or are alleged to have) each poisoned or bewitched one of the opposite group or to have stolen a wife from it. The first party to have allegedly poisoned, bewitched, or to have stolen a wife, then sends the formal invitation to have recourse to guns. Such an invitation is unnecessary in cases where homicides have already been effected by force of arms. This invitation is not a warning of an attack, since generally three to five years then pass before the assassination attempt actually occurs. Rather, it is a public statement of the legal justification for an attack at some future time. The actual assassination raid itself, when it does occur, is conducted in the utmost secrecy.

762 In view of the emotional intensity of the feuding, it is not
[628] surprising that when a man "no longer wants to live," he
[682] does not commit suicide in the ordinary sense, but rather suddenly starts leading assassination raids against the men who are his enemies, insisting on taking the principal risks, such as
[774] being the first to charge into the enemy's house. Sooner or
[778] later, of course, he will himself be killed, which apparently surprises no one, since his self-destructive bent is seen as evidence that he no longer possesses an *arutam* soul. That this kind of "suicide" appeals to Jívaro men is indicated by the fact that while cases of it are fairly well known, not a single one could be found of self-inflicted suicide by a male. In contrast, self-inflicted suicide by women, mainly by hang-
[593] ing from a house beam, is relatively common. Acts of suicide
[684] by women occurred, according to informants of both sexes, when they were consistently treated badly and beaten by their

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

762 593 684

husbands, or when they had been discovered committing adultery and were fearful of being slashed on the head or otherwise mutilated by their irate spouses.

628 728

Feuds can be formally ended by payment, provided that the last killing occurred sufficiently long ago for the deceased's relatives to be willing to settle for less than a retaliatory killing. In all cases, only one person is paid, usually the oldest male relative in the closest relationship to the deceased. He normally is given a pig or shotgun by the eldest male of the enemy family. Often the younger members of the respective families wish to pursue the feud, but the two elders (*untă*), arriving at the negotiated settlement, inform them that the fighting is ended. The man receiving payment would consider it a personal offense if one of the members of his family ignored the settlement.

Feuds also sometimes end simply when one of the eldest men on one side is killed. Such a person is normally the father or father-in-law of the men in his family. Such a killing of an *untă* normally concludes the feud, the final killers having "won."

On occasion, a feud is of short duration, lasting only until each group of kinsmen has lost a man. The final killers then may send the message, "Let us stop killing. Now all is paid because you have killed and we have killed." There are no rituals ever involved in terminating hostilities.

War

721

"War," in the Jívaro meaning, is conducted not to wreak vengeance upon any particular individual, but to secure as many human heads as possible from an alien tribe, usually the Achuara. This purpose contrasts distinctly with the revenge